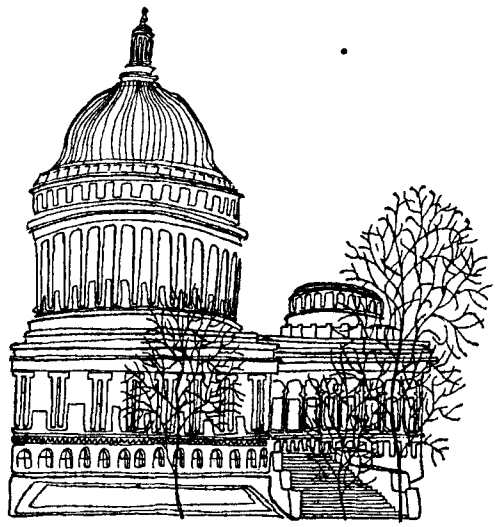
MEMORIES OF SANTAYANA
—Richard Butler

THE

Commonweal

THE CASE FOR McCARTHY

Edward J. Heffron



THE CASE AGAINST McCARTHY

James O'Gara

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OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN:

WE PRAY that YOU save us from ourselves.

The world that YOU have made for us, to live in peace, we have made into an armed camp. We live in fear of war to come.

We are afraid of "the terror that flies by night, and the arrow that flies by day, the pestilence that walks in darkness and the destruction that wastes at noon-day."

We have turned from YOU to go our selfish way. We have broken YOUR commandments and denied YOUR truth. We have left YOUR altars to serve the false gods of money and pleasure and power.

FORGIVE US AND HELP US

Now, darkness gathers around us and we are confused in all our counsels. Losing faith in YOU, we lose faith in ourselves.

Inspire us with wisdom, all of us of every color, race and creed, to use our wealth, our strength to help our brother, instead of destroying him.

Help us to do YOUR will as it is done in heaven and to be worthy of YOUR promise of peace on earth.

Fill us with new faith, new strength and new courage, that we may win the Battle for Peace.

Be swift to save us, dear God, before the darkness falls.

From
"THE BATTLE FOR PEACE"
an address by
Conrad N. Hilton

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THE Commonweal

week by week

THE CAMPAIGN

IN our September 26th issue, The Commonweal endorsed the candidacy of Governor Adlai Stevenson. At that time we wrote: "We wish to make clear that our endorsement of the Stevenson candidacy, though definite and wholehearted, is not irrevokable or blindly partisan. We retain our right to reexamine our position in the light of changing situations." Now, in this "Election Issue," we are happy to reaffirm our original choice.

Adlai Stevenson, despite severe provocation, has continued to speak seriously of serious issues, on occasion touching greatness in his understanding of the complexity of the times. He has been eminently positive, eminently reasonable, and, above all, eminently respectful of the intelligence of the American people and of their ability to face up to the very real and often very harsh problems of the day.

General Eisenhower, during these weeks of campaign and compromise, may have succeeded in unifying his party; he has not convincingly unified himself. Eisenhower has concentrated so heavily on creating harmony in the Republican party that he has been embarrassingly willing to sing duets with just about every member of that motley choir, whatever the favorite song. Dulles, MacArthur, Colonel McCormick, Dewey, Jenner, Luce—you name the tune, Ike knows the words.

On October 16th, Mr. Walter Lippmann, writing in the ultra pro-Eisenhower *Herald Tribune,* plaintively addressed the General: "It would be helpful, I think, if the General would now consider the anguish of his friends. Then he would take the risk of making at least one small public demonstration of how, as a leader of his party, he would resist pressure rather than yield to it. This would buck up his friends, would fortify them and sustain them against the growing suspicion in the country that that man Stevenson may not only be speaking in the accents of greatness but that he may perhaps embody some of the qualities of the great American leader."

Other commentators have been predicting that in the home stretch we will finally be hearing from the "real Eisenhower"—which would seem to imply that we were not supposed to have paid much attention to the various Eisenhowers who have pleaded for support since the close of the Chicago convention. Unfortunately, we did—and so did a number of other people who were trying to choose between two candidates for the highest office in the land.

No one has told us that we didn't hear the "real Stevenson," from the moment of his brilliant acceptance speech in Chicago until now.

ADMITTEDLY, Eisenhower had a tough job—to unite his badly divided party behind him. But he has not even tried—that is the tragedy of the man and the cause. McCarthy, Jenner, Taft haven't changed; Ike has. And the best his original supporters can offer by way of explanation is that he hasn't *really* changed; he just has to talk and act as if he has. Governor Dewey, for instance, repeatedly says Ike is the "same man" who came back from Europe to accept the Republican nomination. Apparently any similarity between this unchanged "real Eisenhower" and the man who has been campaigning is purely coincidental.

The "real Ike" till now has been silent, so we don't know where *he* stands. But the other Ikes are easy to find; they stand everywhere.

If you accept the America-as-Gibraltar theory of Herbert Hoover—Ike is your man; or if you prefer Mr. Dewey's own "internationalist" program—Ike is still your man. If you want less taxes and a smaller military budget—again Ike is your man. Or do you want to go beyond "mere containment"? Ike is your man. Are you opposed to McCarthy and the 'ism' that bears his name? So is Ike. Are you *for* McCarthy? Do you want to see him in the Senate for six more years? So does Ike. Do you oppose Senator Taft's attitude on foreign policy? So does Ike. Do you agree basically with Senator Taft? Ike does, too. Name your song, Ike sings it.

Because the editors of the Commonweal did endorse Stevenson—admittedly only as individuals—certain Catholics have felt that we were somehow

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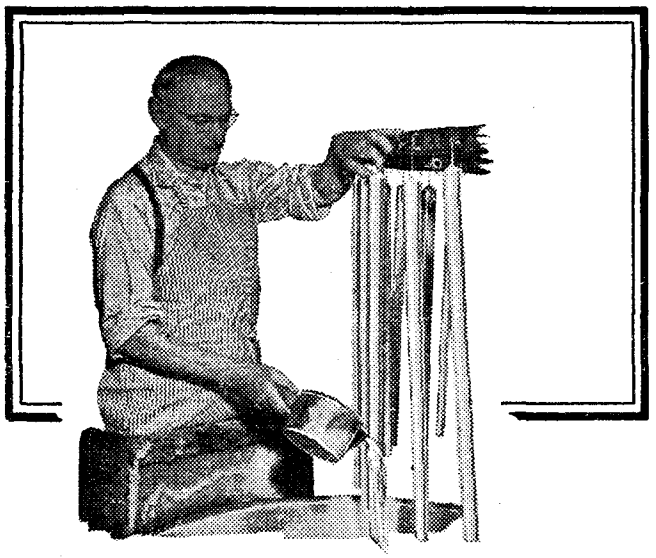

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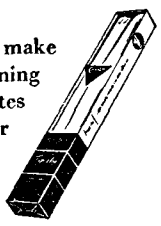

CANDLE CRAFTSMEN FOR NEARLY A HUNDRED YEARS

THIS WEEK

Week by Week 83

McCarthy: The Case For Him
by Edward J. Heffron 87

McCarthy: The Case Against Him
by James O'Gara 91

Memories of Santayana II
by Richard Butler 95

The Stage
by Richard Hayes 100

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 101

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untrue to our role as lay Catholic journalists. As we have said on numerous occasions, The Commonweal is a totally "unofficial" Catholic publication —the editors cannot commit the Church, nor can they speak with the spiritual authority, or even with the temporal wisdom, of the Church. On questions as highly controversial as an American political campaign, it is quite understandable that Catholics disagree. Even though they share the same principles and the same general end, for one reason or another, different Catholics, applying these principles to concrete political situations, often reach opposite judgments.

More and more we see the need for another weekly like The Commonweal—a magazine of opinion edited by lay Catholics and dealing with the thorny temporal issues of the day. Much of the criticism reaching us is depressingly negative. We should like to see a group of our "conservative" critics found a magazine like this one and grapple more positively with concrete social, economic and political problems, from their chosen viewpoint. If, in the light of the Church's social teachings and the papal encyclicals, there is a case to be made for the political and social "Right," which The Commonweal is not making, then we should welcome its finding a voice. Certainly American Catholicism would gain vitality from the healthy exchange of honest opinion.

UNTAPPED MILLIONS

EVERY so often the charges about professionalism in intercollegiate sports become so insistent that some institutions of higher learning clean house. The authorities jack up entrance and scholastic requirements, give athletic scholarships the heave-ho and clamp down on alumni engaged in supplying the makings of winning teams. Last year's revelations of bribes and game-fixing led to a certain temporary de-emphasis.

But college football continues big time. The stadia this fall are filled Saturday after Saturday; TV fans are numbered in the millions; bowl games will pay lucrative rewards to winning teams. Professional teams and college coaching jobs promise a solid economic future to young men who make the sport-page headlines.

There now is the possibility that this whole process is to be greatly accentuated two years hence. By dint of a coin box attached to each individual TV set, receipts for each game can be hiked to several million dollars—on the basis of fifty cents a home. If split between the contestants, that could mean funds for college libraries, professors' salaries, laboratories and the like on an unprecedented scale. But the disadvantages would also be obvious.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association, which is currently negotiating for the proposed television plan, has a chance to curb this big-money lure. But it will have to stick to its guns. It will have to insist that its whole membership—rather than merely the institutions whose teams are televised—share in the millions of dollars piled up during each football season.

To many, that would seem a drastic, if not an inequitable, approach to the problem of distributing the vast sums that American TV-set owners are expected to weigh in with. One alternative with such funds at stake would be for colleges openly to field their own teams of professionals who would make no pretense of seeking an academic degree.

AFTER THE ELECTION

BEFORE the campaign got under way, many responsible political observers hoped that a substantial agreement on foreign policy would rule out partisan dispute on such issues as Korea. But as the campaign warmed up, this hope proved ill-founded.

Although U. S. intervention was hailed at the time by GOP leaders, in recent weeks the conduct of the Korean war has come in for heavy criticism. And in the heat of the campaign, even General Eisenhower has made remarks about Korea which are likely to be widely misunderstood.

Typical of such campaign oratory was General Eisenhower's suggestion that if there must be wars in Asia, the United States should let Asians fight them. Reminiscent in tone of the "No-American-troops-in-foreign-battles" slogans, this statement came strangely from the lips of a man most of whose recent career was spent in furthering the objective of collective security.

By this time, the facts about Korean troops should be well known. More than one half of all the front-line troops engaged are South Koreans, and if U. S. casualties are higher than anyone would like, they neverthless constitute about thirty-five per cent of total UN casualties in Korea. Nor is the idea of combat-training for South Koreans new; such a program has long been underway.

At the same time, there should be no illusions about the situation. It would be impossible, at least in the next few years, for the South Koreans to take over the full battle. Lower-echelon troops can get by with speeded-up combat training, but turning out divisional, corps and army staffs ready for modern warfare is something that requires years. In addition, the South Korean forces, who are giving a

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good account of themselves in combat, are being supplied by means of a complex U. S. supply system and are being supported by tanks and planes which are largely U. S. operated. As much self-help as possible should be the rule in Korea, as elsewhere. But there is no reasonable ground for believing that turning the war over to the South Koreans at this point would result in anything but an overwhelming victory for the Communists.

Although controversy rages around the events leading up to it, neither political party really questions the wisdom of our intervention in Korea, which was undertaken in the interests, not only of Korea itself but of the United States and the rest of the free world. When the political campaign is over, therefore, one of the first tasks for the next President—whoever he may be—should be to reaffirm to the world our determination to carry on in Korea with renewed energy. We should make quite unmistakable the fact that we intend to use all the strength at our disposal either to stop aggression or to make it as costly to the aggressor as possible. For the peace of the world it is important that the Soviet realize that this intention has not been changed by the political campaign.

THE POET IN AMERICA

IT has been said that when W. H. Auden was asked why he had chosen to leave Europe in order to live in New York he answered that he had come to the great city in order to be alone. And Stephen Spender, in an essay published in this country several years ago, remarked that the "situation" of the American writer was one distinguished by its loneliness and isolation.

When all due allowances have been made for the limitations of a Whitmanesquely romantic view of America as a massive, extroverted monolith, magnificently contemptuous of the cloister and the academy, one must yet admit the true perception inherent in Auden's answer and Spender's observation. America's tradition not been famous for its sympathy toward the artist and the intellectual. These very words, in fact, still suggest something foreign and effete to some Americans. As a result, many of the nation's writers have felt a sense of alienation from the main currents of their country's life.

Thus alienated, frustrated in their attempts to communicate with others, America's writers have frequently been limited to talking to each other. The medium of their conversation has been the "little magazines," which have served in this country as a necessarily limited substitute for the more expansive and influential avenues of communication available in London and Paris. It has been in the "little magazines" that much of the freshly creative imaginative and intellectual work of this century has been done by Americans. These magazines have thus served both to relieve the American writer's isolation and to provide an opportunity otherwise lacking for the discovery of unorthodox talent.

One of the most valuable of these magazines has been *Poetry*. Founded in 1912 by Harriet Monroe, this magazine has consistently published the work of unknown poets, and many of the poems it has published have remained as permanently valuable additions to the tradition of American letters. *Poetry* has provided two generations of American writers with an audience and a hope. And now, this October, it has published a special fortieth anniversary number, containing the work of some of America's most promising new poets.

Poetry's long and distinguished history reminds us of how important such independent magazines have been in our cultural life, and how necessary they will continue to be in a future which promises little relief from the overriding commercialization of American life. The writer in America may continue to be more isolated and alone than in other times and cultures, but with genuine encouragment he may create in the future even more fruitfully than he has in the past. And if this should happen, the forty-year history of *Poetry* indicates that, despite any isolation or alienation, the future of American verse may be very promising indeed.

NEXT WEEK

ROBERT BARRAT writes about the worker priests who share the hard lot of the French proletariat.

"It is a great temptation for such men—caught up as they are in the worker's desperate battle and acutely conscious of extreme human and Christian need—to commit themselves ever further, to accept responsibilities from unions, to take part in street demonstrations which are more or less political. What are the limits to their identification with the worker? That is the problem. One of these French priests begins by organizing a soup kitchen for children of the unemployed and ends by taking part in a demonstration against General Ridgway, which has little to do with raising the material and spiritual level of the worker's world."

The amount of space required for a full debate on the McCarthy question has necessitated our eliminating the book section from this week's issue. As a consequence, Geoffrey Ashe's review of the New Fabian Essays *will appear next week.*

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McCarthy: The Case For Him

THE RECORD JUSTIFIES THE SENATOR'S "MAGNIFYING AND INTENSIFYING THE SCANDAL," IN ORDER TO DRAW THE PUBLIC EYE.

EDWARD J. HEFFRON

IT could be that half a million Wisconsin voters—including members of the Democratic Party and Labor as well as Republicans and Capitalists—are dupes of the most unscrupulous demagogue in our history. But if so, the 1950 results in Maryland, Florida, Utah, California, and Ohio would seem to suggest that they have plenty of company.

Even if that explanation were beyond dispute, however, I question the way The Commonweal undertook to meet the challenge to national unity involved in this fight against Communism and its connection with the Wisconsin Senatorial contest in its leading editorial for September 12. Irony and scorn are effective, but hardly healing, instruments. What is called for by this unfortunate situation would seem to be some patient persuasion based on a careful elucidation of the facts.

No one will deny, I take it, that long before Teheran and Yalta, there was a murmur of discontent over the way in which the Administration, and particularly the State Department, was leaning over backwards, even more than befits a companion-at-arms (it was said), to be a good neighbor to Soviet Russia and a hospitable host to domestic Communists, both indigenous and imported. Thousands of alleged evidences could be cited: a few must suffice.

There was the Presidential pardon of Earl Browder. There was the Mihailovitch-Tito business. There were, as noted—but they're worth noting again—Teheran and Yalta. There was the *Amerasia* Case. There was the alleged palace revolution at the State Department in the course of which (whether *post hoc* or *propter hoc* I know not) Joseph Grew, Pat Hurley, Stanley Hornbeck, Eugene Dooman, and other anti-Communist worthies left while Dean Acheson, Alger Hiss, John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, and other anti-anti-Communists (the word was yet to be coined) acceded to even more influential positions.

ON June 10, 1947, a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee addressed a confidential memorandum to Secretary of State Marshall, saying: "It becomes necessary due to the gravity of the situation to call your attention to a condition that developed and still flourishes in the State Department under the administration of Dean Acheson. It is evident that there is a deliberate, calculated program being carried out . . . to protect Communist personnel in high places . . . Regarding the much-publicized Marzani case, the evidence brought out at his trial was well known to State Department officers, who ignored it and refused to act for a full year . . ."

On August 30, 1948, former Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle—one of the organizers of and still, I believe, a leading figure in ADA—testified: ". . . In the fall of 1944 there was a difference of opinion in the State Department . . . the intelligence reports which were in my charge indicated a very aggressive Russian policy . . . and I was pressing for a pretty clean-cut showdown then when our position was strongest. The opposite group . . . was . . . Mr. Acheson's group, of course—with Mr. Hiss as a principal assistant . . . I got trimmed in that fight . . ."

After the Hiss case broke, Mr. Berle testified that he had twice informed Mr. Acheson of the disclosures Whittaker Chambers made to him nine years before about Alger Hiss; and it also came out that the FBI had sent over a report on Hiss. Nevertheless Hiss stayed on to become adviser to FDR at Yalta, one of those who worked out the UN veto at Dumbarton Oaks, and Secretary of the UN Organizing Meeting.

President Truman set up the loyalty-security program on December 17, 1947, but failed to convince everyone that the reform was genuine. Some—Republicans, no doubt—suggested it was done simply to abate criticism. Whether this charge was politically inspired or not, it must be admitted that several subsequent misadventures on the part of the Administration gave it some semblance of color. To cite but a few, there was the Justice Department's seeming reluctance to do anything about the Hiss Case until its hand was forced by Chambers' divulgence of the Pumpkin Documents; ditto on Remington until the so-called runaway grand jury in New York took the case out of its hands; there was the President's oft-repeated intimation that the Hiss Case was nothing more than a Republican red herring; and there was the public declaration, at an official press conference, that the Secretary of State would not turn his back on the *convicted* Alger Hiss.

When the State Department's Loyalty-Security Board got into operation under General Conrad Snow there

Formerly executive secretary of the National Council of Catholic Men, Mr. Heffron is now with an executive agency in Washington, D. C.

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were charges—again, no doubt, largely political—that it was unduly soft to accused Communists. Once more, however, irrespective of the motivation of the charges, there was some evidence to support them, part of which, long-rumored, became public only recently.

For example, in testifying before a subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee on March 27, 1952, General Snow admitted that the superior Loyalty Review Board had reprimanded his Board on at least one occasion. The State Department Board had permitted an accused employee's Communist wife to remain at his side while he was interrogated, and the appelate board objected to this as bad practice. General Snow and his superior, Carlisle Humelsine, acknowledged that sixteen other cases had been remanded by the appelate board, some of them, however, merely because of new evidence.

Without challenge, Senator McCarthy has revealed purported minutes of meetings held by the Loyalty Review Board on February 13 and 14, 1951, reflecting the following discussion: "The State Department is taking the attitude that they are to clear the employee and not to protect the government." "What are you going to do when the attorney that is presenting the charges acts as though he were attorney for the employee? I read a hundred pages of a State Department record where the three members of the Board were acting as attorneys for the employee." ". . . the State Department . . . has the worst record of any department in the action of its loyalty board."

Subsequently—more than four years after it was established—the State Department Board made its first adverse ruling on grounds of loyalty; three of them, in fact, within a month.

THE purpose of all the foregoing recital is not to convince the reader that each of the above criticisms is valid or that, taken together, they give a fairly proportioned view of the over-all situation. It is simply to arrive at an answer to this question: Were there any grounds, as of February 9, 1950, on which an honest man might feel justified in unleashing a vigorous attack on the loyalty-security program of the State Department?

On that date McCarthy denounced the Department in an address before a women's Republican club in Wheeling, West Virginia. This speech made headlines all over the country and greatly embarrassed the Administration. On February 22 the Senate adopted a resolution, S. R. 231, calling for "a full and complete investigation as to whether persons who are disloyal to the United States are, *or have been,* employed by the Department of State . . . and such *other agencies* against whom charges have been made" (italics added).

As originally offered, the words "as charged by the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. McCarthy)" appeared just after the words, above, "employed by the Department of State." Apparently fearing that even so oblique a reference to the Wisconsin Senator might be used by the majority as warrant for investigating McCarthy rather than the State Department (the mood of the Democrats was unmistakable), Senator Ives took exception and the words "as charged by the Senator from Wisconsin" were deleted. (More of this later.)

A violent controversy (still going on) arose immediately after the Wheeling speech as to the specific language McCarthy had levelled against the State Department. On the following morning the Wheeling *Intelligencer,* a Republican paper, reported that he had said: "While I cannot take the time to name all of the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who, nevertheless, are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

If this is what he said there can be no doubt he was irresponsibly stretching the truth. On July 26, 1946, Secretary of State Byrnes had written to Congressman Sabath: ". . . a recommendation against permanent employment has been made in 284 cases by the screening committee . . . [There have been] 79 actually separated from the service . . ." Subtracting 79 from 284 gives 205; but that was nearly four years before the Wheeling speech and even then the charge was not that they were "members of the Communist Party" or anything like it.

Admitting that this language had appeared in what he called his advance draft, McCarthy denied that he had actually used it in the speech. According to an article in *The Reporter* for August 19, 1952, by Senator Tydings, this denial was made under oath. On the floor of the Senate McCarthy claimed that what he had said at Wheeling was: "I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

This disputed passage became the touchstone of the controversy.

A COMMITTEE was appointed to carry out the terms of S. R. 231, consisting of three Democrats, Tydings (chairman), Green, and McMahon, and of

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two Republicans, Lodge and Hickenlooper. When hearings began on March 8, 1950, the first witness, McCarthy, appeared with a prepared statement. Throughout that day and the next Lodge and Hickenlooper kept urging that "Senator McCarthy . . . get the courtesy . . . of being able to make his own statement in his own way, and then be subject to questioning." Nevertheless, McCarthy was interrupted so frequently by the Democratic members of the committee that at the end of the first day's session he had hardly begun his prepared statement. The usually soft-spoken Lodge said at one point, "Mr. Chairman, this is the most unusual procedure I have seen in all the years I have been here." A little later he referred to "this Roman holiday we are having here this morning." Still later he said: "I do not understand what kind of a game is being played here, and I cannot do my work as a member of this committee if we are going to do this picking and choosing and jumping around all over the place."

Partisan tempers having thus been inflamed, it is perhaps understandable why Ives should have intimated, when the Tydings Committee's report was being discussed on the floor of the Senate on July 21, 1950, that he knew very well the kind of a game that was being played there. He referred to the admission on the prior day by the majority leader, Senator Lucas, that "the Democratic Policy Committee drafted the resolution for this investigation."

Senator McCarthy submitted to the Tydings Committee the names of the 57 he said he referred to at Wheeling, plus 24 others picked up in the meantime, for a total of 81.

On July 20 Senator Tydings transmitted a report to the Senate, signed by Green and McMahon in addition to himself. Lodge and Hickenlooper refused to sign it. On one of the few 100% party line votes ever taken in the Senate all 37 of the Republicans present on the floor, including Margaret Chase Smith and Wayne Morse, lined up against accepting the report. They were outvoted, of course.

The report cleared all 81 of the names submitted by McCarthy, specifically including those of John Stewart Service, Owen Lattimore, Esther Brunauer, and John Carter Vincent, and said: "At a time when American blood is again being shed to preserve our dream of freedom, we are constrained fearlessly and frankly to call the charges, and the methods employed to give them ostensible validity, what they truly are: A fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people." (More of this later, too.)

One of the first things Tydings had done when the investigation got under way, and rightly so, was to check on the disputed number—205 or 57—used in the Wheeling speech. He got a letter from the editor of the Wheeling *Intelligencer* asserting that the reporter who wrote the "205" story stood behind it.

"The committee of which I was chairman," Tydings wrote in the August 19 *Reporter,* "sent investigators to Radio Station WWVA in Wheeling, which had broadcast McCarthy's speech." These investigators—committee investigators one would assume from this language (more about this later)—came back with sworn statements from two officials of the station declaring that the speech broadcast by McCarthy was substantially the same as that reported in the *Intelligencer.*

On July 20, 1950, Tydings made a speech in the Senate. Adverting to these two WWVA officials and to the reporter for the *Intelligencer,* he said: "I have referred to what was in the script which the Senator from Wisconsin gave to these two eminent gentlemen and gave to the newspaper reporters. It was the same old thing. It refers to 205 members of the Communist Party. . . . The Senator from Wisconsin denied it. Mr. President, I wonder if I could get unanimous consent to play a radio recording of the Senator's own voice on one of these occasions. I ask unanimous consent that I may play a recording of the Senator's own words. I am not asking Senators to take my word, but to hear the Senator's own voice, who says he has not made a statement of this character."

Senator Wherry, the minority leader, reserving (sic) the right to object, raised a question as to whether the playback of a recording accorded with the "rules pertaining to the use of this chamber." Whereupon Tydings precipitously withdrew his request, refusing to yield the floor to Wherry for any final statement as to whether he did or did not object. Tydings said that he would play the record off the floor in due time, but when asked to do so by the press he put them off. (More later.)

In 1951 Senator Benton introduced a resolution to investigate McCarthy. McCarthy responded in kind. Both investigations were duly ordered and assigned to a committee under Senator Gillette, Iowa Democrat.

On December 27, 1951, one of this committee's investigators, Daniel Buckley, issued a public statement on termination of his job, saying: "My job in Wheeling, I thought, was to find . . . whether . . . Senator McCarthy had said that he had a list of 205 Communists . . . or . . . a list of 57 individuals either members of or loyal to the Communist Party. . . . I conscientiously interviewed a large number of witnesses . . . Every one of these witnesses, save one, supplied information which cast grave doubt and suspicion on Senator Benton's story and substantially corroborated Senator McCarthy's account of the facts."

On September 8, 1952, Senator Welker withdrew from the Gillette Committee, specifically predicating this action on the resignation of another of the committee's investigators, Jack Poorpaugh. According to the Senator, Poorpaugh said that subpoenas for use against Benton were denied, whereas unconfirmed rumors against McCarthy were leaked to the press.

Benton and McCarthy not only unleashed Congressional investigations on one another, each filed suit against the other in civil courts for slander and libel. On September 3, 1952, Tydings was called to testify at the pre-trial hearing in McCarthy *v.* Benton. As reported in the Washington press, his testimony bore on several points that have thus far been left dangling in this account.

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WE HAVE seen that Ives demanded amendment of the language originally proposed for S. R. 231 by the Democratic Policy Committee, to make it unmistakably clear that the subject of the investigation was the Department of State. At the September 3 hearing Tydings was asked if the exhibits submitted by the editor of the Wheeling *Intelligencer* and the two officials of Station WWVA "were prepared by the State Department." His reply, as reported in the Washington *Times-Herald,* was: "Yes. They were furnished by State Department representatives sent there at my request."

We have seen what Tydings had to say about the recording he offered to play on the Senate floor. According to the same newspaper account of the pre-trial hearing, he there acknowledged that "he had only one recording at the time——of a radio speech by McCarthy at Salt Lake City, the night after the Wheeling speech." (There has been agreement from the beginning that 57 was the figure used at Salt Lake City, not 205.) The *Times-Herald* said that Tydings admitted he "had tried to get a recording of the Wheeling speech but was informed none was available."

These developments were startling enough; yet an even more significant thing reported in the same account was that McCarthy's attorney, Edward B. Williams, "said that in recent depositions in McCarthy's suit the three men [the two WWVA officials and the reporter for the *Intelligencer*] repudiated these affidavits"—referring to the affidavits submitted to the Tydings Committee in 1950—"He said Myers [of WWVA] admitted he listened to only about half of McCarthy's speech and couldn't recall whether he had referred to 205 or 57." In his 1950 affidavit, admittedly procured by representatives of the agency under investigation, on instruction of the chief investigator, Myers had sworn that he checked the script—presumably the whole of it—against WWVA's tape recording not only on the night it was broadcast but again the following day. He then certified "that the tape recording was the same as the . . . script with the exception of interpolations and connective words such as 'a's' and 'and's' and 'the's', which . . . did not materially change the meaning of the script."

With reference to the Wheeling reporter, the *Times-Herald* had this to say: "Williams said Desmond testified that his story, written before McCarthy spoke, was based upon a rough draft which McCarthy warned he would deviate from."

As of July 20, 1950, the Democratic majority on the Tydings Committee cleared all 81 of the "persons who . . . are, *or have been,* employed by the Department of State . . . and . . . other agencies" whose names were submitted to it by McCarthy. As of September 12, 1952, The Commonweal says "Joe didn't actually nail a single Communist in government." Even if this were true, it cannot be denied that truth can be as deceptive as untruth when it is not the whole truth.

The whole truth runs about like this: William Remington was convicted of perjury for having denied that he had been a Communist. True, the verdict was reversed on technical grounds; but he has been reindicted. Stephen Brunauer, who admitted that he had been a member of the Young Communist League, resigned before the Navy's Loyalty Board could complete its interrogations. The top Loyalty Review Board ordered John Stewart Service dismissed on grounds of questionable loyalty. The State Department's own Loyalty-Security Board found adversely on security grounds as to Oliver Edmund Clubb (only to be overruled by Dean Acheson who acknowledged that he had not even read the record). Peveril Meigs, having been cleared by the State Department's Board, took a job with the Army—whereupon the Army's Loyalty Board ordered him discharged. Hans Landsberg had an experience similar to that of Meigs, except that he went to the Commerce Department rather than the Army.

Edward G. Posniak's case was scheduled for a rehearing when he was permitted to resign. The same was true of William T. Stone. Mary Jane Keeney, leaving the State Department to go with UN, was recently discharged by UN for invoking the Fifth Amendment to justify her refusal to testify whether she was or ever had been a Communist. Esther Brunauer and V. Lorwin have been suspended under the State Department's loyalty program. As late as June 17 of this year (I do not know what, if anything, has happened since) John Carter Vincent's case was up before the Loyalty Review Board for the third time, John Paton Davies' case was there for the fourth. On January 24, 1952, the State Department's Loyalty-Security Board found adversely on loyalty grounds as to two unnamed employees, and on February 12 as to a third. On July 2, 1952, the Senate Judiciary Committee consisting of seven Democrats and six Republicans released a report without dissent in which the committee said: "Owen Lattimore was, from some time beginning in the 1930's, a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." A Democratic-controlled subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee refused, late in 1951, to confirm Philip Jessup's nomination as U. S. Delegate to the UN.

I do not mean to insinuate that all of these people have been or will be found guilty on final appeal. As shown, however, the final verdict is already in as to some of them; as to the rest, it must be admitted in fairness to McCarthy that the foregoing record implies charges were warranted.

As I depart now for my air raid shelter, let me ask my worthy opponents to meditate on a passage from that well-known liberal, Lindsay Rogers, quoting that well-known Democrat, Woodrow Wilson. Writing in the New York *Herald-Tribune* in March of 1950 Professor Rogers said that Anglo-Saxon legislatures, by "insisting on their right to compel disclosures by Executive departments and citizens . . . have been less craven and have proved more vigorous protectors of the public weal" than any other legislatures. "It is the legislature," he said, "which in Woodrow Wilson's phrase, must demand the examination of 'corners suspected to be dirty' even though to draw the public eye it must 'magnify and intensify the scandal.' "

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McCarthy: The Case Against Him

THE SENATOR USES TECHNIQUES WHICH, IF CONTINUED UNCHECKED, WILL SURELY END THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE.

JAMES O'GARA

COMMUNISTS constitute a menace to our national security. There is no place for them in the government, especially in the Defense establishment or in the State Department, and constant vigilance must be exercised to keep them out.

Once agreement on this major point is reached, the only disagreement involves the best method to guard against Communist infiltration of government posts. Senator McCarthy and his followers say that if one is anti-Communist, one must necessarily support Senator McCarthy. Along with many other people, I say this is not so.

Rejection of Senator McCarthy's claims as the Number One enemy of Communism does not mean favoring any "soft" policy on this subject. It does reflect the conviction that Senator McCarthy's methods do more harm than good.

Nor should opposition to Senator McCarthy's tactics be taken to carry with it the opinion that the Democratic administration made no errors in the realm of security. General Bedell Smith, of the Central Intelligence Agency, recently said that if the next President were as successful against Communists in government as President Truman, the nation would have little to fear on this score. But despite General Smith's statement, it still seems to me that in the early days after World War II some government officials were slow in waking up to the dangers of espionage by domestic Communists. To me, the evidence on this slow awakening to a home-grown danger points clearly, not to wholesale treason by most of our top leaders, but to a certain naivete which was shared at that time by many other Americans of both political parties.

During World War II and immediately after it, millions of Americans labored under the illusion that the aims of the Soviet were peaceful and not necessarily in conflict with our own. Included among those who cherished this hope were some very prominent names in both political parties, including Mr. Truman and General Eisenhower. The immediate postwar period was marked by what was in practice a bipartisan agreement on one subject, the dispersal of our military strength, and this was accomplished over the repeated objections of the then Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, later a prime target for his role in what Senator McCarthy called our "retreat from victory."

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The Loyalty Program, which was aimed at eliminating loyalty and security risks from government agencies, was established by Executive Order of Mr. Truman in March of 1947, almost three years before Senator McCarthy made the first of his famous broadsides. The first chairman was Seth Richardson, a wealthy lawyer, a Republican, and an Assistant Attorney General in the Hoover Administration. In 1951 he was succeeded as head of the Board by former Senator Hiram Bingham, Republican from Connecticut. Each department also has its own Board, and the State Department Board is made up of nine members, headed by General Conrad E. Snow, New Hampshire Republican.

The key to the Loyalty Program is J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, without which the entire procedure would be impossible. Since the Loyalty Program was launched by President Truman in 1947, the FBI has processed over four million records, including those of personnel already employed by the Federal government and of new applicants. If any suspicious item is discovered by the FBI, a full investigation is conducted, and the results are turned over to the Loyalty Board. Such investigations have proved to be necessary in one-half of one per cent of the loyalty forms checked, and 287 individuals have either been removed from their jobs or denied employment; 2824 more resigned during the course of the investigations.

In addition to the FBI, the State Department maintains its own security force of almost 200 people, headed by a former Special Agent of the FBI. Every person in the employ of the State Department from October 1, 1947 onward was investigated not only by the internal security unit of the State Department but by the FBI.

THIS is the way the Loyalty Program works. What has been accomplished by the Senator's charges? In September, 1951 he said, "We got Alger Hiss out, we got Marzani out, Wadleigh, George Shaw Wheeler and a few others." Although this list is not impressive in terms of quantity, coming from a man who likes to talk in terms of hundreds, nonetheless the names are impressive. What are the facts?

Hiss: Hiss resigned from the State Department in February of 1947 to take his job as head of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. Senator McCarthy makes it sound like a crime ever to have known

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Hiss, but at the time Hiss was still deceiving many people, among them leading Republican John Foster Dulles, who recommended him for his new job. Hiss was exposed by Whittaker Chambers before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and his conviction was secured by the Justice Department. The lawyer who prosecuted him successfully has since been rewarded with a Federal judgeship. The case was finished and Hiss convicted before McCarthy made his famous attack against the State Department.

Carl Marzani: Formerly with the OSS, Marzani transferred to the State Department. He was tripped up by the FBI and State's own investigators and fired in 1946, before Joe McCarthy was in the Senate. The Justice Department then secured Marzani's conviction and he went to jail. Senator McCarthy had no connection with the case.

Henry J. Wadleigh: Chambers identified Wadleigh, who had left the State Department in 1946, as one who passed secret documents, and Wadleigh later testified on behalf of the government against Alger Hiss. McCarthy had nothing to do with the case.

George Shaw Wheeler: Wheeler was never really in the State Department, although he was carried on State's payroll for two or three months for technical reasons; he was with the Military Government in Germany when he was denounced (*not by Senator McCarthy*) and fled to Czechoslovakia. He was out of his government job a long time before Senator McCarthy got around to him.

It is important to remember the general trend of Senator McCarthy's charges. The number of Communists Senator McCarthy claimed were in the State Department is important, but the rest of his much controverted Wheeling statement is even more crucial. At the time of his address, the press reported it this way: "I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department." Later Senator McCarthy insisted that he had said the following: "I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

The implication of the first statement is that these persons were known as Communists to the Secretary of State and employed nevertheless. Affidavits and other testimony to the contrary, McCarthy later denied that he had said this. But clearly the main tenor of McCarthy's entire anti-Communist campaign has been to imply that Communists dominate State Department policy, with the knowledge of the top officials, something which is tantamount to a charge of treason.

WHERE did the great numbers game that began in Wheeling originate? It seems quite clear that Senator McCarthy was using a letter written in 1946 by Secretary of State Byrnes to Congressman Sabath.

At the time Byrnes wrote, the Department of State was engaged in a postwar screening of thousands of employees temporarily transferred from other agencies. Byrnes reported that of 3000 already screened, "a recommendation against permanent employment had been made in 284 cases." Of this number, 79 had at that time been removed from the service. Subtraction of 79 cases from 284 leaves the famous figure of 205.

Senator McCarthy's figures are enough to make one's head swim. During his speech to the Senate shortly afterward, in which he insisted that he did not refer to 205 Communists in his Wheeling speech, Senator McCarthy talked about "a very sizable group of active Communists in the State Department." Later in his talk he referred to the "vast numbers of other Communists" [in the State Department], and said "I do not believe I mentioned the figure 205; I believe I said over 200." He went on to say, "I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present," later remarking in the same speech, "the cases number 81," and hit an all-time high for confusion when he stated: "I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the Secretary were [to be?] discharged because of Communism. He actually only discharged approximately 80," which would leave 220.

All in all, Senator McCarthy's way of handling figures poses something of a problem for the onlooker anxious to make sense out of it all. Whatever the figure eventually settled upon, it should be emphasized again that Mr. Byrnes' letter was written four years before Senator McCarthy's Wheeling talk and referred not to Communists specifically but to people who were considered "unfit for Government service," a phrase that can and does cover a multitude of reasons.

Whether 205, over 200, 57, 81 or 200 is the preferred figure, the next question would seem to be the source material for Senator McCarthy's famous Wheeling charges which have since been repeated time and again in various forms. Did Senator McCarthy dig up new information which could be used for more accurate appraisal of the records of the people involved? He did not.

The cases Senator McCarthy used date back to 1947 and 1948, when the Republicans were in the majority and controlled the House and Senate. Because of complaints about the security program, House investigators made a study of security in the government and drew up a detailed list of 108 questionable cases for study. Republican-controlled committees, which were not famous for their desire to protect Mr. Truman's record, analyzed the material Senator McCarthy was to use two years later. Not one reported that the State Department was concealing Communists. Indeed, Representative Bartel Jonkman, Republican from Michigan, who acted as a one-man subcommittee to investigate the State Department, said this: "But before the 80th Congress adjourns, I want the Members to know that there is one department in which the known or reasonably suspected subversives, Communists, fellow-travelers, sympathizers, and persons whose services are not

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for the best interests of the United States, have been swept out. This is the Department of State."

THESE cases which were concentrated on by the 80th Congress involved borderline cases in a Department which employs between twenty and thirty thousand persons. Clearance by a Republican committee does not mean that no Communist escaped detection. It does mean that discovering Communists in government service is frequently a highly difficult job which sometimes defies the experts for years.

When there is talk about getting Communists out of the government, I take it to mean producing some evidence that will lead to exposure and, if possible, conviction. But consider, for example, the Remington case, frequently cited to defend Senator McCarthy.

Remington was in the Commerce Department, not the State Department. His case was brought to light in July of 1948, eighteen months before McCarthy's first charges, by a Senate Investigating Committee headed by another Republican, Senator Homer Ferguson of Michigan. Said Ferguson: "I personally do not know of any particular work he [McCarthy] did in the Remington case." Yet McCarthy has discussed the Remington case, and if his conviction is eventually upheld, McCarthy's supporters will probably credit him with it.

Take the case of Philip Jessup. This magazine was severely critical of many of his viewpoints and decisions, especially in relation to China. For example, in the leading editorial in the issue of October 14, 1949 (before McCarthy's famous speech), Jessup, John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service, Lauchlin Currie and Owen Lattimore, as well as the Institute of Pacific Relations, were sharply censured as "at best feeble, irresolute and unsuccessful advisers" in the task of protecting "ourselves and the world from encroaching Soviet tyranny."

But if we criticized Jessup on China, we must also state that his fight against the Soviet in the UN, especially in the matter of the Berlin blockade, was well reasoned and beneficial to the cause of the free nations. And to criticize men is not to lump them all together as traitors and disloyal.

The proceedings of the special Senate Foreign Relations sub-committee on the Jessup matter provide a good example of what Senator McCarthy's attacks can do. Senator McCarthy said that Jessup belonged to six Communist-front organizations.

But the gravity of these charges pretty well disappeared in the course of the proceedings. Some of the organizations were declared subversive years after Jessup had been in them, some were considered subversive by no one but Senator McCarthy, and to at least one Jessup had never belonged. On those to which he did belong, he was able to show that he had as fellow members many distinguished Americans, Republican and Democrat alike, who had given their names for affairs like a testimonial dinner in honor of FDR sponsored by the American Russian Institute three years before this organization was declared subversive.

The testimony on Jessup's behalf was very strong. It was so strong that one of the Republican Senators, H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, said to Jessup: "I have known you too long to have any doubts about your loyalty and integrity." Nevertheless, the heat was on, and when the vote came, Senator Smith of New Jersey voted against Jessup because he had become such a controversial figure. If almost any public figure can be made so controversial that—innocent or not—he cannot hold office, there is something drastically wrong with such methods.

Many people who oppose Senator McCarthy's methods seem to feel that they must insist that no one whose name has ever crossed McCarthy's lips is guilty. I see no sense in such a position. The cases Senator McCarthy has been talking about are almost all old cases. Most of them fall into a borderline category, which means they will be subject to constant review by the Loyalty Boards. Some of the individuals involved, it seems to me, demonstrated very bad judgment which should be evaluated as such and which might justify their removal from government service. Others will probably be found guilty. Still others may be completely innocent. But I do not see why the fact that some of them will be dropped by the Loyalty Boards justifies Senator McCarthy.

Take, for example, the statement that on January 24th the State Department Loyalty Board found adversely on two employees and on February 12th as to a third. What is this supposed to prove about Senator McCarthy? If the Loyalty Boards were to stop dropping employees, then I would be worried. Is the State Department to be damned when it fails to drop individuals and Senator McCarthy to be justified when it does? Every time a Government Loyalty Board drops an employee on loyalty or security grounds, are we supposed to think that this justifies Senator McCarthy?

Time magazine, which is Republican in its sympathies and severely critical of Secretary of State Acheson, says about Senator McCarthy: "At best, he might

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claim an assist on three minor and borderline cases which Government investigators had already spotted." Even if one goes along with *Time* on this, it would take much more than assists on three borderline cases to justify the claim that the good accomplished by Senator McCarthy outweighs the harm.

CONSIDER what Senator McCarthy has been doing. Remember that he was no voice in the wilderness, crying out to warn a nation unaware of its danger. He made his first charges in 1950, after the cold war had become an inescapable fact to all but the most hopelessly sanguine of Americans. From that day forward, he has been tirelessly sowing the seeds of national division and disunity.

To a people shocked by the realities of cold war, Senator McCarthy brought a simple message: our troubles are due to the fact that the country has been betrayed by the State Department. Perhaps more than at any time in our national history, this is the time for steady nerves and sober judgment. It is a time when we need to weigh the actions of government officials coolly, to decide who are knaves, who the men of bad judgment, who the men of wisdom and insight. But lumping all our problems together and blaming the entire present on treason in the past, Senator McCarthy tries to plant the idea that our government is riddled throughout with Communists and that our foreign policy in particular is shaped by them.

It is almost impossible to communicate the flavor of Senator McCarthy's speeches to anyone who has followed his career only through the headlines. They are tirades, compounded of truths, ambiguous assertions, half-truths, events snatched out of historical context. From time to time they are punctuated by statements like "I have here in my hand photostatic copies" which often lend a convincing air to amazing claims until the photostatic copies are examined.

No statement seems too wild for Senator McCarthy to make. For instance, he is prone to judgments like this: "the easiest way to get in the Voice of America is to be a well-known Communist. Unless you have a Communistic background, you cannot qualify for a position with the Voice of America."

It has often been said that no innocent person has been hurt by Senator McCarthy. To answer this in detail would take a book,* but how about the employees of the Voice of America, just as a start? How about General Marshall? The Senator says he did not call Marshall a traitor, yet McCarthy did speak of a "great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man." He said that Dean Acheson must be high in the highest circles of this conspiracy (*no injury here?*) and then, after devoting paragraph upon paragraph to General Marshall, stated: "If Marshall were merely stupid, the laws of probability would have dictated that at least some of his decisions would have served this country's interest."

This is, I submit, the most outrageous sort of character assassination, at once morally reprehensible and politically dangerous. If no voice is raised against such methods, demagogues can so weaken the faith of the people in their government that democracy cannot survive. Certainly I agree with those who point out that this tragedy is not yet upon us. But the way to guard against its coming is to speak out, and the time to speak is when there is one Senator McCarthy, not dozens.

THERE has been much talk about the short-sightedness of anti-anti-Communism, a term which has lately had something of a vogue. If this expression is used to describe people who are not interested in eliminating Communists from government posts, I join in disavowing anti-anti-Communism. But if the term is intended to describe people who think Senator McCarthy's kind of anti-Communism falls dangerously short of what is needed, I am quite willing to number myself among them.

Take a look at the record. The Marshall Plan was conceived by the man whose name Senator McCarthy blackened; it was a daring and creative effort to strengthen resistance to Communism. How did Senator McCarthy vote on the Marshall Plan? He voted *No.* On American support for the united stand of the North Atlantic Pact nations against possible Communist aggression, Senator McCarthy voted *No.* On Point Four, designed to prevent any mass following for Communist political leaders, Senator McCarthy voted *No.*

Consider his record in the 82nd Congress, just past. On troops to Europe: Senator McCarthy voted *No.* He makes political capital out of the loss of China, but on aid to India during the recent famine without insisting on a strict *quid pro quo,* Senator McCarthy voted *No.* On cutting aid to Europe, Senator McCarthy voted *Yes.* When the issue was slashing Point Four aid, Senator McCarthy voted *Yes.*

Senator McCarthy is a shining example of what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has called the New Isolationism. He puts on a pyrotechnic display regularly and maintains a steady tirade against Communists in government, to the horror and dismay of the voters. At the same time he stands for withdrawal to America and votes against concrete measures like Point Four and the Marshall Plan which are aimed at checking Communist aggression. One may say that Senator McCarthy must vote on these issues as he sees them. But how the end product can be hailed as effective anti-Communism is a mystery to me.

CRITICISM of Senator McCarthy's methods inevitably produces attack, much of it of a vitriolic character. In Senator McCarthy's book, anyone who differs with him is automatically a Communist, a party-liner, a camp-follower or, at best, a dupe and tool of the Communists. Indeed, the kind of attack that follows

*One such book, published this month, is "McCarthy: The Man The Senator, The 'Ism,'" by Jack Anderson and Donald W. May (Beacon Press, $3.75).

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any criticism of Senator McCarthy is evidence of the nature and dangers of his shotgun approach, which lumps all who disagree under one Communist label.

The following is a partial list of some of the publications which have severely criticized Senator McCarthy's tactics: the New York *Times;* the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch;* the *Christian Science Monitor;* the Louisville *Courier-Journal;* the St. Paul *Dispatch;* the Denver *Post;* the New York *Herald Tribune;* the Washington *Post;* the Milwaukee *Journal; Collier's; Life; Time;* the *Saturday Evening Post; America;* the *Christian Century;* the *Michigan Catholic.* Among these are some of the most respected journals in the United States. Does anyone seriously think that they are Communist or Communist-infiltrated?

The Washington correspondents of newspapers throughout the country named McCarthy as the "worst Senator" in the U.S. Senate. Are they all to be brushed off? When polled, political scientists voted him "the poorest" Senator now in office. Are their opinions to be dismissed completely?

Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Republican of Maine, summed up my feelings on the subject of Senator McCarthy when she said: "I do not like the way the Senate has been made a rendezvous for vilification, for selfish political gain at the sacrifice of individual reputations and national unity. I am not proud of the way we smear outsiders from the floor of the Senate and hide behind the cloak of Congressional immunity and still place ourselves beyond criticism on the floor of the Senate.

"As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of 'confuse, divide, and conquer.' As an American, I do not want a Democratic administration whitewash or cover-up any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt."

Shortly afterwards, Senator Smith was joined in what was called a Declaration of Conscience by half a dozen of her fellow Republicans. They said: "Certain elements of the Republican Party have materially added to this confusion . . . through the selfish political exploitation of fear, bigotry, ignorance and intolerance . . . It is high time that we all stopped being tools and victims of totalitarian techniques—techniques that if continued here unchecked, will surely end what we have come to cherish as the American way of life."

For a Senator to put his name to this document took courage, since more and more men in public life hesitate to voice any criticism of McCarthy publicly. The Republican Senators who signed this statement, in addition to Senator Smith, were Senators Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, George D. Aiken of Vermont, Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, Irving M. Ives of New York, Edward J. Thye of Minnesota and Robert C. Hendrickson of New Jersey.

If Senator McCarthy continues to gain power, these legislators may well have signed their own political death warrants. They are, it seems to me, persons of integrity and courage, and they deserve well of the nation. I am proud that The Commonweal is included on the roster of Senator McCarthy's opponents.

Memories of Santayana II

RICHARD BUTLER

THIS is a remembrance and an appreciation of George Santayana—a personal remembrance of the man I befriended during the last two years of his life, and a critical appreciation of his philosophical thought and literary genius as expressed in his prodigious writings.

I have said that Santayana was not an American, either by birth or by preference. He was born a Spaniard; by choice he was a restless wanderer who spent much of his life drifting across Europe: from his gentleman's lodgings on Jermyn Street off St. James in London, to a favorite table at a side-walk cafe on the Champs-Elysees in Paris, to the trim, sun-spotted paths of the Pincio gardens in Rome.

I have said that Santayana was not a Catholic, except by the accident of his baptism in San Marco's Church in Madrid. His father was a professed materialist, his mother a vague deist. Traditional custom and social acceptance carried the infant Santayana to the baptismal font. The mature Santayana never received any other sacraments, never professed, practiced, or even understood, the faith into which he happened to be born. His interest in Catholicism was sentimental and superficial, a poet's esthetic attraction to what he saw as a delightful myth.

I have said that Santayana was not a profound thinker, not a philosopher at all. He was an idealistic poet, tragically detached from the existent reality that stimulates the speculation of true philosophers. His own "system" of philosophy was no more than a rhetorical barricade built for personal accommodation and protection, a perforated protection supported by two contradictory presuppositions: a thoroughly subjective idealism as to the origin of knowledge and a dogmatic materialism as to the origin and order of the ambient world.

But he lived contentedly behind his rhetorical ramparts and preferred his hermitage to the battlefield of disputation, his selected solitude to the noisy arena of debate. Only he could practice his custom-made theories; and apparently he did.

WHEN I turn from the objective appreciation of a public figure to the personal recollection and ap-

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preciation of a good friend, I remember George Santayana as a kind man: a man gentle, affable, gracious, hospitable, generous, considerate; a man who despised sham and hypocrisy, admired the expression of genuine virtue, and earnestly attempted to be sincere in holding his own opinions while respecting the convictions of others.

I remember him: painfully moving around his room hunting for a book I came to borrow, eagerly extending his hand and smiling his welcome at whatever hour I chose to come, giving me an inscribed copy of his last published work with an apologetic hope that I would find nothing offensive in it, calling me to wish me well the night I was to make my public defence of a dissertation which critically refuted his philosophy.

I recall one day when I found him unsmiling. A boy had come, he explained, with a package that required payment. When he had opened his desk drawer and reached for the amount needed, a sheaf of bills fell to the floor. Unable to stoop without difficulty, he asked the lad to pick up the money for him. After the boy had gone he discovered a considerable part of the money was missing.

"Am I responsible for his theft by providing him with the occasion?" he asked. He was not asking a speculative question; he was sincerely concerned. Yet this man of contradiction probably never considered his awful responsibility as a popular author, expressing in enchanting prose a dogma of materialism that contradicted reason and faith and undermined every foundation for morality.

To me he showed unqualified respect and reverence, never overtly considering our disparity in age and experience. I was not merely a friend young enough to be his grandson; I was his spiritual father by the sacred character and office of my priesthood. And this he never forgot, from the beginning to the end—to the scrawled words heading his last letter: "Dear Father."

As a Dominican, I was not a stranger to him, even from the beginning. For long before I knew him he had recorded a boyhood dream: "I thought how glorious it would have been to be a Dominican friar, preaching the Christian epic eloquently, and solving afresh all the knottiest and sublimest mysteries of theology." And when his beloved half-sister, Susana, neared the end of her life in Avila and could no longer go to church, it was a Dominican priest from the convent of Santo Tomas who brought the sacraments to her. His other sister, Josefina, also returned to Spain and was at last reconciled to the faith into which she was born but had never practiced—through the mediation of a Dominican priest.

But unfortunately I was not to play such a role in his life. It was much too late—perhaps when he was a sensitive youth, simultaneously reading Lucretius and Saint Augustine, writing sentimental sonnets to "the pure white host" and the "arms, outstretched upon the tree," but not after the positive choice was made, publicly expounded and propagated, with the public's approval and praise, and then defended by his living it.

Three weeks before he died, Sister Angela charitably made her only direct appeal to the patient who received her care and prayers for twelve years. His curt reply: "I will die as I have lived."

I knew him as a very old man, hard of hearing and hard to keep to a point. Characteristic of the aged, he was an egotistical conversationalist, using his visitor as a sounding board for the expression of his own rambling thoughts. There was little opportunity for an exchange of ideas, for mutual discussion or friendly argument. His mind was keen, even to the end, but often and abruptly he would lose his train of thought completely. Usually this would happen when a point had been driven into a corner for closer examination. Then he would shake his head distractedly and change the subject. I once chided him with the observation that his hearing or concentration failed him only when points arose that he did not want to consider. He merely smiled, pretending that this, too, had gone unheard.

ALTHOUGH he dismissed all popular religions as man-made myths, merely systematized symbols expressing man's ideals and mistakenly accepted as cosmological causes, Santayana manifested extraordinary sensitivity to these supposed phantoms of fantasy whenever they touched him.

During Jacques Maritain's diplomatic days at the Vatican, the French philosopher and his wife, Raissa, occasionally visited Santayana and took him for an automobile ride. Once, on the outskirts of Rome, the Maritains raised the subject of a reasonable approach to religious belief. Santayana tartly replied that if they insisted upon talking about such matters he would have to ask them to stop the car and let him out. Shortly afterwards he cut off all communication with them.

A young Spaniard who worked at the Propagation of the Faith office in Rome came to see me one day. He explained that he was related to Santayana (I forget precisely how) and that he was very concerned about the old man's salvation. At that time he frequently visited Santayana. I advised the anxious youth to proceed prudently, depending more on the power of prayer than on the power of persuasion. I learned that later on, during one of his visits, he had given vent to an outburst of Latin passion and had gotten down on his knees to beg the old man make his peace with God. Santayana visibly shaken, showed the young zealot to the door and forbade him ever to come again.

The only time that I provoked harsh words from Santayana was when I myself tried to apply some pressure on this point. The occasion was his last birthday.

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SUPPORT THE STEVENSON-SPARKMAN TICKET!

The Way for American Labor and Liberals

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, at a special meeting on August 7, 1952 with President David Dubinsky presiding, endorsed the candidacy of Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois for President of the United States and Sen. John J. Sparkman of Alabama for Vice President. The text of the endorsement follows:

The choice before American voters this November will be a clear one.

The Republican Party offers an Old Deal platform that strikes out against rent controls and against Federal aid to education and health insurance. It totally ignores the need for price controls to stop inflation, leaves civil rights legislation to the mercy of the states and enthusiastically praises the Taft-Hartley law.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, pledges in its platform continued adherence to New Deal and Fair Deal goals. It calls for Federal aid to expanded health services and education, asks that rent and workable price controls be retained and urges the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. It provides an historic plank in calling for a change in the Congressional rules that have allowed a coalition of reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats to filibuster to defeat even the most modest civil rights proposals.

Gen. Eisenhower and Sen. Nixon are pledged to the Old Deal Republican platform. They propose a return to the policies of rugged individualism which spell misery, unemployment and depression. Gov. Stevenson and Sen. Sparkman are pledged to the New Deal Democratic platform. They propose to continue this nation on the progressive road it has followed in the past 20 years.

This difference in domestic policy will determine the effectiveness of our world policy. We cannot be the backbone of a free world if we allow ourselves to become weak at home. We cannot stop communism with insecurity; we need greater social security. We cannot stop communism by attacks on labor or the disregard of minority rights; we need a richer, fuller life for all of our people, regardless of race or creed or color. We firmly believe that a democratic foreign policy requires a liberal domestic policy.

We therefore enthusiastically endorse the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket and the platform to which these candidates are pledged.

We call upon our members to work and vote for this ticket—to retain the gains of the New Deal and to block a return to the Old Deal.

Under the guidance of an administration headed by Stevenson and Sparkman, a liberal America can provide the physical power and the moral inspiration to win the peace and strengthen the free world.

General Executive Board
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
David Dubinsky, President

(This advertisement paid for by the ILGWU 1952 Campaign Committee)

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A few days before, I had been in to see him and as I left I told him I would offer my Mass on his birthday for his intention. He expressed his thanks but suggested that I apply the Mass intention to some more worthwhile cause. That evening, as an afterthought, I wrote him a note offering to celebrate the Mass at the hospital chapel at the end of his corridor, so that if he wished he could attend it. I knew that he used to attend Mass occasionally but stopped the practice, remarking to Sister Angela: "I don't want to get accustomed to it."

In reply to my note, after some comments on the progress of my work, he wrote: "As to your project of making a demonstration of your anxiety for my soul in this house, and compelling me to take part in it as the eventual repentant, it seems to me a strange impertinence. If you say your Mass here on Sunday I shall certainly not be present."

Santayana was so adamant in his resistance to a profession of faith he advised his literary executor that if in his final illness he should make such a profession he would be doing so out of weakness and an unsound mind and therefore would not mean it. To accept the God Who tempted him would mean the rejection of the doctrine contained in most of his writing. The venerable sage would have to become as a little child.

Did he ever doubt the position he had chosen? He has given some indications that he did.

In the final volume of his memoirs, which will be published soon by Scribners, he insists that as his life ended he had no change of heart. Yet he admits that in his mental life, "there have been two great impediments, two congenital vices, two initial temptations: the temptation of the primitive poet to believe his fables, and the temptation of the spontaneous agent to lose himself in his world."

Surely he never succumbed to this second temptation of worldliness. He always was, and remained to the end, a man detached from the world, in it but not of it, living ascetically and in seclusion. But what of this first temptation: to believe these fables, a category into which he expressly places traditional religion and morality? Speaking of religious inspiration, which he often declared was purely poetic inspiration, he says that he has enjoyed such inspiration but "the temptation to mistake it for revelation was in my case never invincible."

DURING the last year of his life he became less dogmatic, more docile, even inquiring. He had become even more secluded, refusing all visitors except his old friend and literary agent, Daniel Cory, and myself. But on his last birthday he admitted a group of newspaper correspondents to interview him. Among the comments they reported he had made was: "Now I find things are not so simple to explain as I had imagined, and so I am not reconciled."

Customarily he was merry and talkative, but towards the end he fell into moods of long quiet and deep reflection. One day during this period I came to return some of his own books which I had borrowed from him. Immediately I perceived that he was in one of these moods. As I stood there, his books in my hands, he looked up from his chair and silently stared at me. Then he said softly: "There isn't anything in them worth reading, is there?"

I had worked to finish my dissertation as quickly as I could. In the beginning he had challenged me to do an intrinsic criticism of his philosophy, following his reasoning step by step in the construction of his system of "realms of being." "Then show me if you can," he said, "where I go off, if I do at all. My mind is not closed to an honest and intrinsic criticism." This I had tried to do, and at last I had finished the job and the lengthy manuscript. He agreed to read the bound copy which I gave him and to make his own marginal comments as he read it. So much depended on it.

On my last visit I was struck by the changes that had come over him. The paunchy, quick-eyed, chuckling raconteur I had met nearly two years before was now a thin, tired-looking man, sitting quietly and speaking only of some stomach ailment that was ruining his appetite and making him constantly uncomfortable. I took some pictures of him, probably the last ever made, left him two books as a gift of appreciation, and got ready to leave.

"You are leaving," he said, slowly and thoughtfully. "Soon Dan will be going back to England. I have stopped writing, and I am beginning to have difficulty reading." He smiled sadly as he added, "I am afraid I shall be bored." He walked to the door with me, holding in his hands the critical dissertation which he promised to read very soon.

He shook my hand and said simply: "I won't see you again."

"No," I replied, "probably not." I turned and walked for the last time down the long, clean-smelling hospital corridor.

Shortly afterwards he wrote to tell me that he had read sixty pages of my criticism—only the introduction —before he went blind.

I HAD wanted to say something in appreciation of the generous touch of literary genius that George Santayana undoubtedly possessed. Perhaps such words of praise go without saying in the case of a man in whom the genius was so evident, or will be said inadequately.

I only want to point out that here is where his true greatness lies. He was not a great philosopher, not a philosopher at all. He was a poet. He was a poet bewitched by his own lovely creations of literary beauty; for he was seduced into the tragic error of confusing

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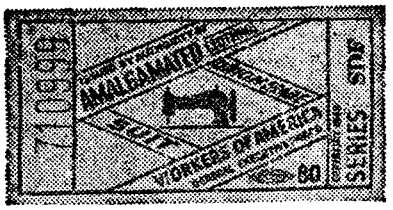

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fact with fancy, the function of poetry with the function of philosophy.

His greatness, then, lies in his tragic weakness, in his brilliant imagination and creative artistry. Because of his cultivation of a naturally gifted and sensitive imagination, George Santayana may easily take his place as one of the greatest essayists in modern English literature.

His reader may disagree with his thought, or not even understand it, but he cannot help admiring its exquisite expression. Santayana's distinguished selection of a sudden pungent word, his clever turn of a phrase, his imagination that could linger lovingly over a sight or a sound, fashion such delight anew, and express it eloquently—these are talents that have enriched our literary heritage.

And so his more meritorious work was in a purely literary vein: his three volumes of personal memoirs, his poetry, his essays, particularly his collection of *Soliloquies* composed in England during the first World War.

I can still recall his delightful dedication of a volume of poems: "To those whose ear it may strike sympathetically and who, crossing the same dark wood on their own errands, may pause for a moment to listen gladly."

I have heard his music gladly, but his lyrics have often evoked sadness, particularly now as I re-read the closing lines of a youthful sonnet to nature, the "mother of us all.":

And though his arms, outstretched upon the tree
Were beautiful, and pleaded my embrace,
My sins were loth to look upon his face.
So came I down from Golgotha to thee,
Eternal Mother; let the sun and sea
Heal me, and keep me in thy dwelling-place.

George Santayana has gone to the dwelling-place that he chose—not then, but in the end.

THE STAGE

IN ANY LANGUAGE

IF nothing else, "In Any Language" does establish Miss Uta Hagen as a comic actress of charm and distinction. Her portrait of a declining Hollywood star on Roman Holiday is flavored with sharp and delicious perception; it permits Miss Hagen to indulge a talent for the broad and the raucous which her previous roles have discreetly veiled.

Wiggling through a wonderful, thoroughly low version of "Turn on the Heat," or attacking a breakfast of bread and chianti in the manner Anna Magnani has made so uniquely her own, the blonde and serious Miss Hagen creates that kind of rapport with her audience for which no amount of intelligence and skill is a substitute. Yet intelligence and skill are certainly here: no one should underrate the sensibility which underlies her handling of, for example, a conventional drunken scene. In most comic acting, there is generally a specific reliance on verbal wit, or the humor of the situation; Miss Hagen is rare in using her *body* in a comic fashion, and the results are fresh and arresting.

For all its finish and finesse, however, Miss Hagen's performance lies at the heart of a remarkably lacklustre entertainment. The artifact which Messrs. Edmund Beloin and Henry Garson have neatly put together is precisely the sort of extended anecdote which they, as bright and clever young radio writers, have dispensed so often between the Rinso commercials. They give us (or rather, Miss Hagen gives us) an actress, going to Italy to recoup her reputation with one of those smoldering directors who specialize in sewer scenes and photography in the rain. But once the broad outlines of this situation are established, "In Any Language" remains static — there is no development of character or plot (only a profusion of wild and eccentric action).

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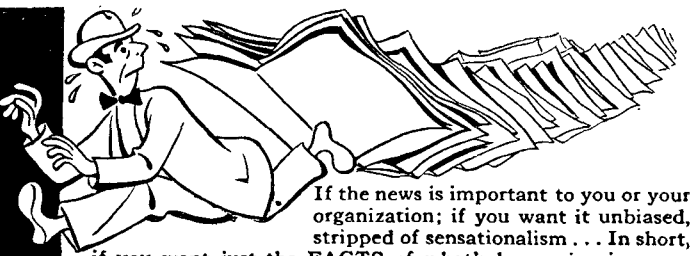

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Had they minds more subtly attuned, the authors might have composed an incisive little study in international manners, but all these satiric possibilities have readily been sacrificed to what the critic of the *Daily News* enthusiastically calls "a lot of boffo gageroos." Some of these gageroos are clever indeed, but most of them were, I am sorry to say, quite too boffo for my taste.

With three acts to fill, the authors enlisted the fine Italian hand of Mr. George Abbott. Mr. Abbott can usually be counted on to make things fast and furious, even if not very funny, and he has not failed Messrs. Beloin and Garson in their darkest hour. The Abbott entourage—a wordless Turkish tobacco merchant, a silky Egyptian princess, and a formidable Roman grande dame (played with spirit and dash by Nita Naldi)—winds its way, with intermittent charm, across the stage at the Cort. But the authors' invention has now become so desperate, and their wit so coarse, that all the promise of the first act seems to have been left in the lobby with the cigarette smoke. At eleven o'clock, Raoul Pene duBois' opulent set and Uta Hagen's energetic comic sensibility appear to be the only Roman candles still glowing in this elaborate display of fireworks.

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

LOVING

IF ever a movie soared with lyricism it is the Rossellini film now being shown in this country. "Flowers of St. Francis" may disappoint moviegoers who expect it to be a full-length life of the saint, but it certainly should not disappoint those who can enjoy a new cinematic experience, particularly an experience that stems from religious fervor.

Producer-director Roberto Rossellini turned to *Fioretti di Francesco d'Assisi* for inspiration for his unusual film, and collaborated with Federico Fellini and Fathers Felix Morlion and Antonio Lisandrini in selecting incidents from the *Little Flowers* and in writing the script. (The version being shown here has an English narrative as well as English sub-titles.)

Perhaps it was another stroke of Rossellini's particular genius that made him select the friars of Nocere Inferiore Monastery to play St. Francis and his followers. What the film loses by not having a professional slickness, it more than makes up for in the sincerely moving performances of these friars (who are individually unidentified) and in the shining, inspired faces they present to the camera as they go through various episodes illustrating the love and piety, poverty and penance preached by St. Francis.

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The almost drab Italian countryside provides authentic and fitting backgrounds for these incidents which take place near Assisi and in the rocky fields around the Little Portion. At times one is almost shocked by the effectiveness with which the picture has caught the real meaning of St. Francis — as in the moving scene in which the holy man embraces a leper, or in the unaffected and joyful episode showing the visit of St. Clare and the sisters to Francis and the brothers, or in the beautiful views of flowers and birds during St. Francis' prayer: "Lord, make me an instrument of Thy peace."

If anyone in this amateur cast comes close to stealing the show it is the friar who plays Brother Juniper, the center of the film's many humorous incidents. Although his face does not have the sublime serenity of the friar portraying St. Francis, he does have a joyous quality that is irresistible. He even does his penance joyfully: "Boo, Boo, Boo. Much I say; little I do." But he proves he is no fool when he goes into the camp of the tyrant Nicolaio (played by Aldo Fabrizi, the only professional in the cast) and survives the fiendish hazing of the soldiers and even manages to impress the tyrant.

What is really so remarkable about "Flowers of St. Francis" is that it succeeds in doing what so many films attempt and fail: it captures and communicates genuine religious joy. And further, its cinema is completely poetic; it does not fall back on a single religious cliche. It brings the thirteenth century to our times, and the holy leaping and bounding of the joyful saint and his brothers are part of that century's greatest religious experience.

THERE are moments of joy in the new Chaplin film too, when the great comedian is at his funny best. But as a whole, "Limelight" is an uneven movie; its poignant story has episodes of brilliant comedy and sweet-sad tragedy between periods of almost dreary talk that slows up the plot. Since Charles Chaplin produced, directed, wrote the script and music, and plays the lead, it is hardly unfair to give him both the praise and blame for "Limelight."

Although the story is obtensibly about the theater and people in it, "Limelight" is really about old age: the limelight of life from which age must pass so youth may enter. Its main character is an aging music-hall entertainer who drinks too much in this summer of 1914 and has difficulty finding work. "A feeling of sad dignity comes on with age that is fatal to a comedian." He saves from suicide a lovely young dancer (played by Claire Bloom); he succeeds in restoring her faith in life, even cures her psychosomatic illness and starts her on her way to becoming a famous ballerina. Although she is greatly attracted to a young composer (Sydney Chaplin) who loves her, this girl is full of gratitude to the old man and tries to persuade him to marry her. He refuses and leaves, and later he returns for one triumphant evening in the theater.

The plot itself is interesting and its main scenes are done well, with some stunning ballet numbers danced by Andre Eglevsky and Melissa Hayden (who substitutes for Miss Bloom) and several very touching scenes enacted by Chaplin. But because the script is so verbose, the whole picture has the effect of being a kind of Chaplin apologia.

Some of the film's dialogue is cleverly written and lines are tossed off by Chaplin in a delightful manner. ("Not that I care for success, but I hate failure"). But too many of Chaplin's speeches are bitterly cynical, as if meant only to shock. And they probably do. It is unfortunate that some of the scenes weren't cut down and others weren't cut out entirely, especially those that spout dubious philosophy and make the picture's 143-minute running time seem endless. I'm sure no one, however, would want one minute cut out of the hilarious theatrical number put on by Chaplin and Buster Keaton. It is the kind of first-rate slapstick that will never pass out of the limelight.

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We are of this earth, and however short our personal span may be, the human race will live on, and during the short interval in space and time that we are living dust we have to solve all the variety of problems of this world. . . .

The contradiction between civil duty and detachment from the world is only a superficial one. Our God is love. The Christian's share in the life of the City should be nothing less than the expansion of his love.

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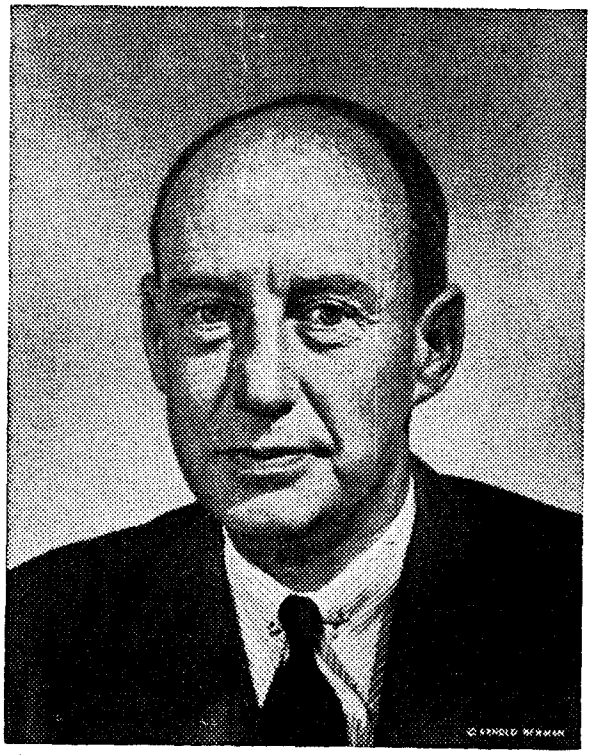

"...the election of Governor Stevenson and the defeat of General Eisenhower is a matter of vital importance to the nation."

THE COMMONWEAL
September 26, 1952

Forward with Stevenson & Sparkman

VOTE DEMOCRATIC

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